



TORONTO'S DOWNTOWN AIRPORT

A POWERFUL ECONOMIC ASSET IN THE CITY'S URBAN CORE

January 2023

INTRODUCTION

In 1939, when Harry Falconer McLean landed the first plane at Toronto's original downtown airport, known back then as Port George VI Island Airport, few could have realized what was in store for the airport and the city. At the time, Toronto was a modestly sized city with around 650,000 people; today, it is a major metropolitan region of more than six million people. Back then, Toronto was a largely manufacturing city. Today, it is a full-blown knowledge economy with leading-edge clusters of finance, real estate, media, entertainment, and high-tech industries. Before the advent of modern air travel, getting from Toronto to New York or Boston took more than half a day by train, and international travel took weeks by boat. Today, global cities are far more seamlessly connected.¹

After all that time and with all those changes, Billy Bishop Toronto City Airport has become a unique and powerful economic asset for greater Toronto. Its role has become even more important to the ongoing recovery of the city and especially of its downtown in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic.



INTRODUCTION (CONTINUED)

Airports play a critical connective role for cities, fuelling the circulation of people and ideas, stimulating innovation and economic growth, and anchoring advanced knowledge economies.² These connective functions of cities are especially critical as the world emerges from the COVID-19 pandemic. As Zoom and other digital technologies enable people to work remotely, the connective functions of cities are becoming increasingly essential. Hard hit by the pandemic, downtowns are shifting away from their traditional roles as work-centric office districts to becoming more complete communities or 15-minute neighborhoods where people live, work, and play 24-by-7. In addition to office towers, they house clusters of hotels, restaurants, convention centres, and meeting places, and they're centres of entertainment, sports, cultural, and nightlife amenities. They are the most central locations with the best road and transit connections and the highest population densities. In an era of increased remote work and more flexible and hybrid work arrangements, the downtowns of leading global cities are evolving away from traditional central business districts into central connectivity districts, which provide the platforms for the in-person meetings, collaborative activities, and face-to-face interactions that power innovation and growth.³

Having an airport downtown confers key advantages to Toronto. Airports play a key role in enhancing this connective function of cities and, in the case of Toronto, of its downtown. But, the lion's share of airports, like Toronto Pearson International Airport, are located at the urban fringe. They enable people to travel in and out of a city but do little to directly enhance these critical connective functions. Having an airport located downtown helps bring tourists and much needed revenue to the city and its urban core, which have been hard-hit by the pandemic. Even more importantly, it provides a direct gateway to leading cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., Boston, and Chicago, bolstering Toronto's role as a global talent and tech hub.

Looking ahead, Billy Bishop Airport has the potential to define a new kind of neighbourhood-based airport—one that is centrally located; walkable, bikeable, and accessible via transit; and that blends seamlessly into the waterfront and its surrounding neighborhoods, while enhancing the connective functions of Toronto and its downtown.





AIRPORTS AS HUBS OF THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

A large body of research documents the significant economic contributions airports make to cities. A detailed 2015 study in the *Journal of Urban Economics* found that a 10 percent increase in air passengers generated a 3 percent increase in economic growth across more than 80 U.S. metropolitan areas between 1990 and 2000.⁴ And the economic impacts of airports are even more important for knowledge-based economies. A separate 2017 study of more than 800 global cities with at least one major airport found that adding air links to other cities leads to greater business connections.⁵ Yet another study of the connection between air connectivity and urban economic development notes: “Frequent service to a variety of destinations ... facilitates easy face-to-face contact with businesses in other cities, attracting new firms to the metro area and stimulating employment at established enterprises.”⁶ Ultimately, airports stand alongside research universities, clusters of high-tech industry, and high-skill talent as a key driver of innovation and economic growth in cities and metro regions.⁷

Airports are key anchors of what John Kasarda has dubbed the “aerotropolis model” of urban development, spanning not just the airports themselves but also the retail establishments, hotels, convention centres, office buildings, and manufacturing and logistics activities that surround them. Airports—and the aerotropolis model of development they anchor—shape business activity and economic development in ways that are similar to the roles that railroads and highways played in previous economic epochs.⁸ In addition, airports are among the largest providers of good, high-paying blue-collar jobs for city residents and workers, jobs that are otherwise declining and in increasingly short supply. Plus, they generate significant demand for local services, which in turn creates more and better jobs for lower-paid service workers in surrounding retail establishments, hotels, and office facilities.

The reason that airports are so important to the knowledge economy is that they play a critical role in the circulation of people and ideas.⁹ Airport connectivity is essential to global cities, connecting them to other leading global centres and enhancing their position in the flow of talent and ideas. Recognizing that, nations like Singapore and the United Arab Emirates have made airports the centrepiece of their efforts to develop globally competitive knowledge economies.

AIRPORTS AS HUBS OF THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY (CONTINUED)

Airports are such a major force for this kind of development that most large global cities have more than one. London has seven. The New York metro area has six. Los Angeles, Stockholm, and Vancouver have five each. Milan, Moscow, Melbourne, Sydney, and Detroit (including nearby Windsor, Canada) have four. And Chicago, Miami, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco each have three airports. Toronto, like many other global cities, has two. Greater numbers of airports provide more choices for travellers and greater connectivity for cities.

Detroit in fact is now working to reopen its original downtown airport, which is roughly the same size as Billy Bishop. Established in the 1920s, that airport served as the region's primary airport for more than 20 years, until larger airports were developed. With declining use, it was effectively mothballed in 2000, fell into disrepair, and has not had a commercial flight in nearly three decades. But, in October 2022, the airport received more than \$100 million in funding from the Federal Aviation Authority to expand its footprint and create a new state-of-the-art downtown airport, including new hangars, a new control tower, improved taxiways, and the return of a public high school aerospace academy that had relocated away from the airport in 2013.¹⁰ This will give the Detroit metro area five airports.

Airports help put global cities on the proverbial map, bolstering their brands and reinforcing their status as places to visit and connect. In recent years, there has been a veritable arms race in terminal construction, with billion-dollar facilities opening or being constructed in such cities as New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Mexico City, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, San Diego, and New Orleans. Cities across the world have also heavily invested in place-branding, mega-events, so-called “starchitecture” (in the form of skyscrapers, museums, and cultural institutions), and signature bridges and parks to bolster their global image and status.¹¹

Just as importantly, airports make that critical first impression, being quite literally the first thing people experience when flying into a city. Travelers coming into Toronto's Billy Bishop Airport are greeted with a stunning view of the city's waterfront and skyline—so stunning, in fact, that it ranks in the top 10 in surveys of the world's most scenic airport landings.¹² And when passengers get off the plane, they are in the heart of the city's bustling downtown.



THE SPECIAL ROLE OF DOWNTOWN AIRPORTS

Downtown airports like Billy Bishop provide cities with unique competitive advantages. They put travellers close to the centre of the action, providing urban centres—threatened as they are by the shift to remote work and decreased office occupancy—with vital anchors. They reduce travel time, enhance the circulation of people and ideas that are so crucial to economic growth, and connect downtowns to other leading global centres. In doing so, they leverage and enhance the role of urban centres, with their large concentrations of finance, media, entertainment, and technology industries, and dense clusters of talent.

But most airports are located far from city centres. New York's John F. Kennedy airport is 30 kilometres away; Chicago's O'Hare is 21 kilometres; London Heathrow is 37 kilometres; Paris's Charles de Gaulle is 31 kilometres; and Toronto's Pearson is 28 kilometres from downtown. In contrast, Billy Bishop is less than 3.5 kilometres from Toronto City Hall.¹³

Distance to the airport is one thing, but the time it actually takes to get to the airport is even more essential, being a function of traffic congestion, speed of traffic, and other factors. London Heathrow and John F. Kennedy are usually more than an hour's drive to or from the city centre, even in non-rush hour conditions. Chicago's O'Hare is about 45 minutes. Toronto's Pearson airport is roughly 35 to 40 minutes but can take much longer in traffic.





THE SPECIAL ROLE OF DOWNTOWN AIRPORTS (CONTINUED)

It takes 10 minutes or so to get to Billy Bishop's main terminal from downtown by car, just 15 minutes by bicycle, and 40 minutes by foot. Billy Bishop Airport is also close to other key Toronto destinations. It is only 10 minutes by car and 13 minutes by bicycle from Union Station; 13 minutes by bicycle from First Canadian Place; and just five minutes by car or 10 minutes by bike from the CN Tower.

Shorter commute times bring economic and environmental benefits in the form of less traffic, less pollution, lower levels of energy use, and greater time savings, all of which contribute to Toronto's status as a more sustainable city.

It's also important to note that Billy Bishop Airport is a significant contributor to Toronto's economy. The airport is projected to add roughly \$3 billion Canadian dollars to Toronto's economy in 2022, up from \$2.1 billion in 2019, an amount which is expected to grow to nearly \$4.8 billion by 2025. The airport's contribution to Toronto's employment base is expected to more than double over this period, from roughly 15,000 jobs in 2019 to 21,000 jobs in 2022 and more than 32,000 jobs by 2025. In addition, direct tax revenues generated by the airport are expected to increase from \$95 million in 2019 to \$150 million as early as 2023.¹⁴

The economic contributions and importance of the Billy Bishop Airport is not lost on Torontonians, the lion's share of whom have favourable views of the airport. More than seven in 10 Toronto residents surveyed viewed Billy Bishop Airport favourably (33 percent very favourably and 38 percent somewhat favourably), according to a 2022 survey, compared to just 8 percent who viewed it unfavourably (6 percent somewhat unfavourably and just 2 percent very unfavourably).¹⁵ The main reasons for these favourable opinions were the airport's accessibility to downtown, its convenience, its shorter lines, and its viability as an alternative to Pearson. This is in line with the findings of a 2018 survey in which three-quarters of those surveyed recognized Billy Bishop Airport as a driver of economic growth and jobs. Just 12 percent raised concerns about airplane noise while 8 percent mentioned the environmental impacts. In fact, support for the airport was higher among those who lived closest to it—82 percent among waterfront residents, compared to 76 percent across the entire city.¹⁶

THE AIRPORT'S ROLE IN TORONTO'S DOWNTOWN RECOVERY

The airport provides a significant asset in the ongoing recovery of downtown Toronto from the COVID-19 pandemic. Roughly two-and-a-half years since the onset of the pandemic, Toronto's downtown office corridor is still reeling. Office occupancy stood at less than a third (32 percent) of pre-pandemic levels as of September 2022.¹⁷ This was well behind the average of nearly 50 percent for 10 large U.S. cities.¹⁸ Toronto ranked 52nd of 62 North American cities on an index of downtown recovery put together by a team of researchers at the University of Toronto and the University of California at Berkeley.¹⁹ Based on cell phone tracking data at points of interest like stores and restaurants, it found Toronto's downtown to be at 46 percent of pre-pandemic levels, significantly behind New York—whose two business centres, Midtown and the Financial District, had returned to 78 percent of pre-pandemic levels—and even further behind the recovery of downtowns in Baltimore (which had rebounded to 91 percent of pre-pandemic levels), San Diego (89 percent), and Columbus, Ohio (112 percent).



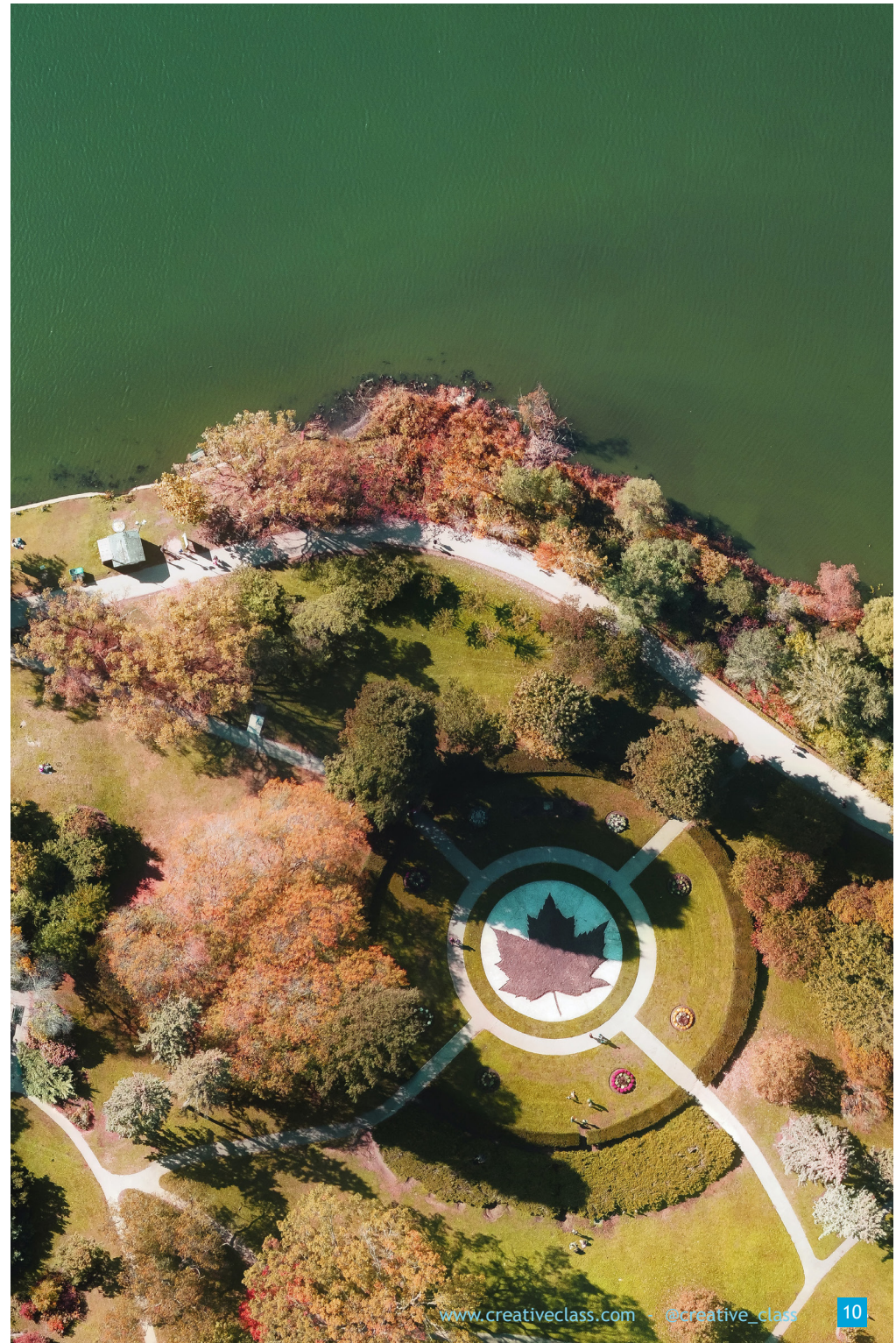
THE AIRPORT'S ROLE IN TORONTO'S DOWNTOWN RECOVERY (CONTINUED)

When the pandemic is over, experts like Stanford University's Nicholas Bloom and his research team predict that roughly 20 percent of all workdays will be done remotely, up from roughly 5 percent before the pandemic, with as many as half of the knowledge and professional workers who occupy downtown offices working remotely at least part of the time.²⁰ A separate study by Bloom and his team further indicates that Canada lags other nations in returning to the office, with its workers averaging 2.2 days working from home compared to a global average of 1.5 days, and 1.3 days for France, 1.4 days for Germany, and 1.6 days for the United States. Canada also lags the United States and most major European nations on the number of days workers expect to work when the pandemic is over.²¹

Toronto's downtown and many downtowns across North America and the advanced nations will have to change from a reliance on traditional work in giant office towers to a more mixed-use district where people can live, shop, play, and above all else *connect*. Fortunately, Toronto's and other cities' downtowns already began shifting in this direction even before the pandemic, adding housing, restaurants, nightlife, and art galleries and becoming increasingly activated by sports, entertainment, and cultural venues.

As downtowns become less about housing office work per se, they are taking on a new and even more important role as platforms for the kinds of socialization, cooperation, and collaboration that power the knowledge economy. After all, they have the most central locations with the best transit and highway access. They are the cultural and entertainment hubs of their regions with museums, concert halls, sports arenas, convention centers, hotels, and more. And they are the densest parts of most regions, with the greatest concentrations of cafes, restaurants, bars, hotel lobbies, libraries, co-working spaces, and other so-called "third places" where people can work, get together, meet, collaborate, and socialize.²² In fact, recent surveys of those who work from home indicate that roughly a quarter of them spend part of their days working in places like coffee shops and co-working spaces.²³

These are precisely the activities and functions that people value most in their downtowns. Access to such third places topped the list of the 2021 Gensler City Pulse survey of what people say are the most important features of a "great business district" post-pandemic. Indeed, 70 percent of respondents identified "restaurants, cafes, bars, lounges, and social venues" as a key feature of a great business district, twice the share (35 percent) who said "businesses, office buildings, and other commercial uses."²⁴



THE AIRPORT'S ROLE IN TORONTO'S DOWNTOWN RECOVERY (CONTINUED)

It is not only knowledge-based companies and professional workers who benefit from Toronto's downtown airport. As the combination of deindustrialization, globalization, and automation have dramatically reduced the number of blue-collar jobs in cities, airports remain one of a few remaining sources of such employment. According to a 2017 report, Billy Bishop Airport is the direct source of almost 1,400 air carrier jobs; another 230 ground transportation jobs; 72 more jobs in activities supporting aviation; and another 70 jobs at PortsToronto, in addition to thousands of more indirect jobs created by the economic activity the airport generates.²⁵ It thus provides a unique source of much-needed blue-collar jobs in and around Toronto's downtown core.

Billy Bishop Airport already has flights to more than 20 destinations, including six U.S. cities: New York (via Newark airport), Boston, Washington, D.C. (via Dulles airport), Chicago (via Midway airport), Melbourne, Florida, and Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. In summer 2022, Boston-based Connect Airlines received approval to operate flights between Billy Bishop and both Philadelphia and Chicago O'Hare airports.²⁶ The airport is currently working to secure U.S. customs preclearance that would enable it to extend its service to additional U.S. cities. Because of its downtown location and short travel times, business travellers who fly into Billy Bishop Airport can easily attend a morning or even an afternoon or early evening meeting and be home that same night.

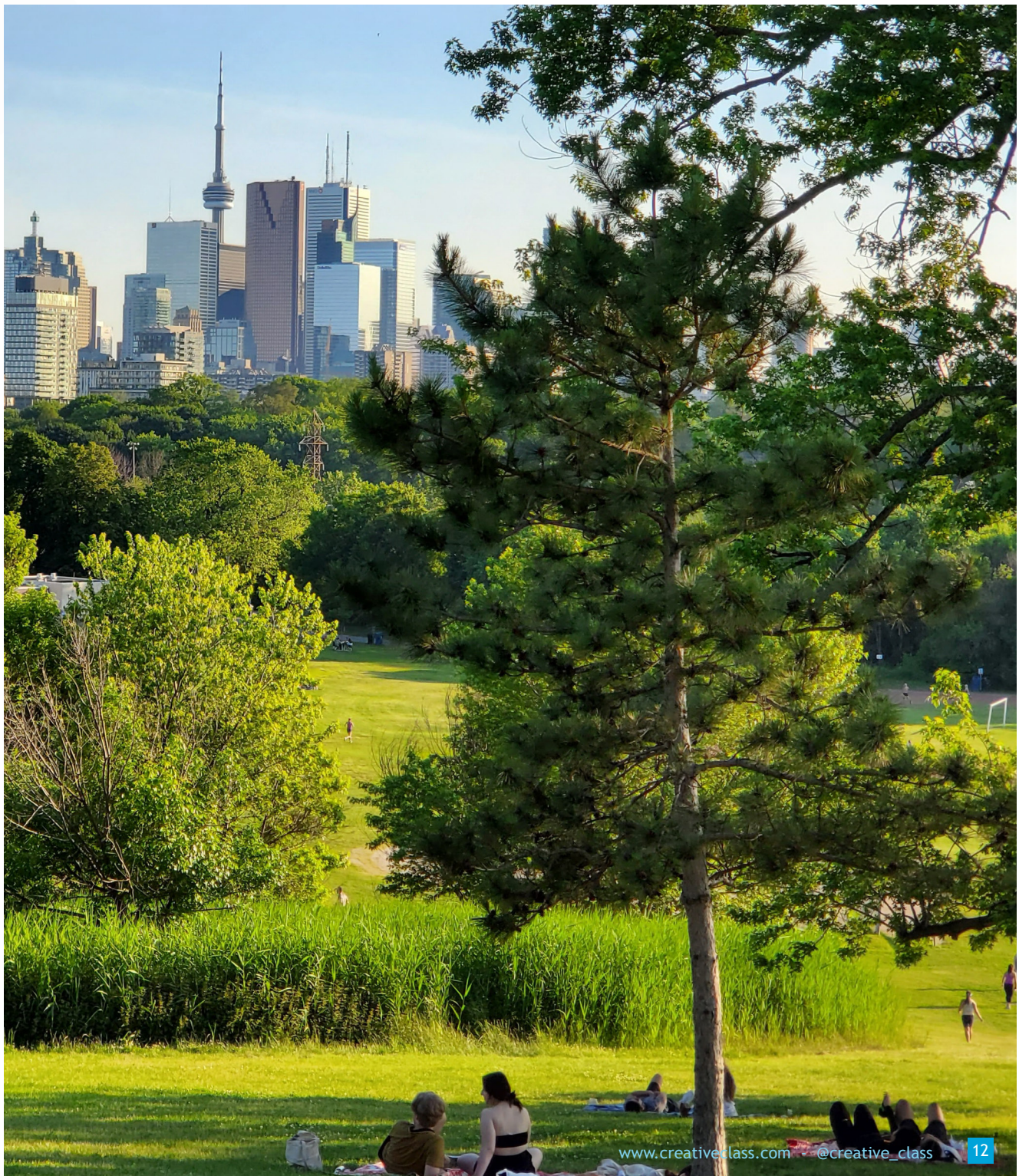
Such connectivity is a huge benefit for Toronto's still troubled downtown economy, helping to bring in leisure and business travellers and attract major conferences and conventions. The airport is within biking and walking distance from both the convention centre and Exhibition Place, whose conferences and conventions help put Toronto on the map as a location for tech companies and talent. The Collision tech conference held in summer 2022, for example, attracted more than 35,000 attendees from 130 countries—up from around 26,000 in 2019 before the pandemic—with more than 1,550 start-ups and nearly 800 venture capital firms in attendance.²⁷ Having a veritable aerotropolis right smack in the middle of Toronto's downtown helps accelerate the city's ongoing evolution and growth as a global tech hub and economic centre.



THE WORLD'S FIRST WALKABLE, NEIGHBOURHOOD- BASED AIRPORT

“What if you could walk to the airport?” is the rhetorical question posed by architectural critic Karrie Jacobs in an essay that chronicles a walk she took from Manhattan out to New York’s LaGuardia airport.²⁸ For all the effort being made to transform airport terminals into state-of-the-art dining experiences, retail centers, and work spaces, the vast majority of them are huge, hulking facilities, ringed by access roads and highways and surrounded by gargantuan parking facilities.

Jacobs should come to Toronto. Billy Bishop is much more a part of its surrounding urban neighbourhood. You can literally walk or bike right up to it, and many do. In fact, 4 percent of Billy Bishop’s air travellers get to the airport by walking or bicycling, according a 2022 survey.²⁹ The popularity of biking to the airport has helped to make its bike-share station one of the 10 busiest in the entire city. In 2019, two new bike-share stations were installed within 300 metres of the original airport station to accommodate the increased demand. The stations at Eireann Quay and Queens Quay combine to make it the third busiest intersection for bike share in the entire city.³⁰



THE WORLD'S FIRST WALKABLE, NEIGHBOURHOOD-BASED AIRPORT (CONTINUED)

Even more travellers use transit to get to the airport. Currently, more than a quarter of travellers use the airport shuttle (5 percent) or take transit (22 percent). And that is with the decline in transit use brought on by the pandemic.³¹ In fact, a detailed pre-pandemic study found that a greater share of trips was made by using the airport shuttle, public transit, walking, or biking. Back then, nearly a third (32 percent) of trips to the airport and just over 40 percent of trips from the airport were made without a car—by using the shuttle (21 percent of trips to the airport and 29 percent of trips from the airport) or by using public transit, walking, or bike (around 12 percent of all airport trips.)³² It is likely that the share of travellers using transit will rebound substantially as the immediate threat of the pandemic recedes.

Toronto's downtown airport delivers these benefits while taking up a strikingly small footprint. At around 200 acres, Billy Bishop Airport is about a quarter the size of Washington, D.C.'s Reagan National Airport (730 acres), more than eight times smaller than Boston's Logan Airport (1,700 acres), and 20 times smaller than Pearson International Airport (4,613 acres). It is dwarfed by North America's largest airports like Denver International Airport, which takes up more than 33,000 acres or more than 52 square miles. Of urban airports around the world, only London's City Airport (124 acres) is appreciably smaller.³³

Urban centres are busy, noisy places with or without airports. But with proper planning and design, great global cities can and do mix different land uses in ways that add to their vibrancy. So-called industrial uses like airports and ports contribute greatly to the mixed-use nature of cities, providing much needed diversity of social classes by creating blue-collar employment in increasingly gentrified areas. Sydney's working harbour is filled with commercial ships and industrial activities, besides its famed opera house and other amenities. So is Miami's port district, active with cruise ships and freighters that abut residential neighbourhoods. Vancouver is yet another example of a city with a bustling working waterfront alongside gleaming office towers, cultural amenities, and residential neighborhoods. Copenhagen is home to an artificial ski slope built on top of a huge incinerator that burns waste to produce heat and energy for the city.³⁴ In Washington, D.C., a recently completed multi-billion-dollar, 24-acre pedestrian-friendly, mixed-used development—which includes residential buildings, offices, hotels, arts and cultural buildings, and a 6,000-seat state-of-the-art music venue—is located across the Potomac River from Reagan National Airport.



THE WORLD'S FIRST WALKABLE, NEIGHBOURHOOD-BASED AIRPORT (CONTINUED)

Billy Bishop Airport is not the only industrial or commercial use in its vicinity. The Toronto port area includes industrial operations for transporting sugar, salt, cement, and other goods. During the summer of 2022, some 40 cruise ships came in and out of the port. Interestingly, two of the marine port's terminal buildings have been leased to film companies, including Netflix, which has its Canadian hub there.³⁵ All of this creates a more vibrant and diverse mixed-use waterfront.

Critics like to say the city would be better off if the airport was turned into a park.³⁶ But posing it this way is a false choice—one that minimizes the economic diversity and economic contribution it brings to the waterfront and the city. A key strength of Toronto lies in its unique blending of the natural and built environments. Its ravine system, greenways, trails, and parks that wind through and around its neighbourhoods and downtown have created a veritable city within a park. Not to mention, the waterfront already offers many parks. These include large parks on Toronto Island and the winding nature paths at Tommy Thomson Park at the Leslie Street Spit, as well as smaller urban parks dotting the waterfront, such as Corktown Common, HTO Park, Trillium Park, Music Garden, Sherbourne Common, Coronation Park, Little Norway Park, Marilyn Bell Park, and Aitken Place Park. Even more parks and greenspaces will be created as part of the Villiers Island development underway by Waterfront Toronto and Love Park on the site of an old off-ramp for the Gardiner Expressway. The much more economically sensible path forward is to create a greener and more environmentally sustainable airport that fits as seamlessly as possible into the waterfront and urban fabric while continuing to make much needed contributions to the city's economy and job base.

Indeed, the airport is taking important steps in that direction. It has made improvements to minimize its impact on and help to improve adjacent neighbourhoods and the waterfront. In 2020, the parking and outside pickup area of the terminal were reconfigured to reduce their physical footprints and improve access.³⁷ The airport is making additional investments in place-making, seating, and public art and sculpture, including First Nations public art along the dock wall, to make the airport a more inviting place and an improved neighbourhood asset.



THE WORLD'S FIRST WALKABLE, NEIGHBOURHOOD-BASED AIRPORT (CONTINUED)

Environmental sustainability is a key goal as well, with the airport shifting to cleaner electric power and undertaking additional steps to reduce its carbon footprint. In December 2021, the airport launched Canada's first all-electric ferry, which eliminates nearly 200,000 litres of diesel fuel and 530 tonnes worth of greenhouse gas emissions used by the original diesel ferry. It plans to replace its fleet of buses with six electric ones by 2023.³⁸ Overall, by switching to clean electric power in 2010 (via Bullfrog Power Canada), the airport has eliminated more than 18,000 tonnes of CO₂, the equivalent of taking nearly 4,000 cars off the road for a year.³⁹ The goal is to further reduce its overall carbon emissions by 2030, and it is working toward a pathway to achieve this. In addition to making the airport more environmentally sustainable, these initiatives also reduce noise and are part of the ongoing response to the surrounding community's desires for quieter and cleaner ferries and buses. All of this reflects the airport's ongoing commitment to becoming an environmentally sustainable, neighbourhood-based, and neighbourhood-friendly airport.



A CRITICAL INFLECTION POINT

Toronto is at a critical inflection point in its evolution as a global city. The Greater Toronto area produces more than \$360 billion in economic output—a fifth of all of Canada’s output—making it about the same economic size as Hong Kong and larger than the economies of New Zealand, Portugal, Greece, or Finland.⁴⁰ The city ranks as one of the world’s 10 most important financial centres, a leading global hub for tech talent, and one of the world’s top 20 leading tech startup hubs.⁴¹ Toronto is now competing directly with cities like New York, London, San Francisco, Boston, and Los Angeles for global talent and high-tech business. Air connectivity is a critical part of this equation.

The clock is ticking. In roughly 10 years’ time, in 2033, the Tripartite Agreement that governs the airport will expire. That may seem like a long time away, but a decade is a very small period in which to plan the future of an airport. It is also necessary to update that agreement to reflect the development of new technology. To take just one example, the current agreement written back in 1983 lacks provisions for electric planes, which are likely to become increasingly important for more environmentally friendly air travel.⁴² If the signatories to that agreement—the federal government, the City of Toronto, and PortsToronto—do not renew it, the airport will close.

When all is said and done, there are few better symbols of Toronto’s aspirations as an economically and socially diverse global city than having a leading-edge, environmentally sustainable airport that fits seamlessly into the waterfront and serves as a vital anchor for its vibrant downtown. Instead of wasting time talking about whether the airport should continue or close down, it is time to figure out how to leverage and enhance this unique asset. It is up to key stakeholders—from all three levels of government, the Port Authority, and the community—to do what is necessary to ensure that Billy Bishop Airport continues its vital role in Toronto’s ongoing economic recovery and continued rise as a global economic, financial, and high-tech centre.



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Richard Florida led the research. The founder of the Creative Class Group and a University Professor at the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management and School of Cities, he has previously taught at Carnegie Mellon University and was a visiting professor at Harvard and MIT and a Fellow at the Brookings Institution. He is author of several bestsellers, including the award-winning *The Rise of the Creative Class* and *The New Urban Crisis*. The co-founder of *CityLab*, the world's leading publication for cities and urbanism, he is a strategic advisor to the boards of several leading real estate development firms, venture capital firms, and investment funds.



Rana Florida guided and managed all aspects of the project. CEO of the Creative Class Group, she has worked with a diverse array of private and public sector clients around the world, including BMW, Converse, IBM, Cirque du Soleil, Audi, Zappos, and Starwood Hotels. She has decades of experience in corporate strategy, communications, and marketing, having directed global strategic communications for HMSHost, the world's largest airport developer, and having served as Vice President of Communications for Disney on Ice, Disney Live, and Ringling Brothers. She has developed marketing strategies with clients including Starbucks, *The Atlantic*, *CityLab*, The Aspen Institute, and The Knight Foundation. Rana holds a BA in communications and an MBA in marketing and management from Wayne State University. Her book *Upgrade: Taking Your Work and Life from Ordinary to Extraordinary* was named a "Business Best Seller" by Tattered Cover, the largest independent bookstore retailer in the U.S., and an "Editor's Pick" by *The Globe and Mail*.



Arthur Goldwag served as editor for this project. Senior Writer and Editor for the Creative Class Group, he held positions at Random House, *The New York Review of Books*, and the *Book-of-the-Month Club* and is the author of several books, including *The New Hate* and *Isms & Ologies*.



Patrick Adler served as research lead for the project. Adler is an Assistant Professor in the University of Hong Kong's Department of Geography. He holds BA and MA degrees from the University of Toronto and a PhD from UCLA.

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